

# **Images and Prophecy in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean**

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**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht**

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## Writing Persepolis in Judah: Achaemenid Kingship in Chronicles

It may seem that a study on the books of Chronicles has no place in a volume which takes prophecy as its central theme. Certainly these biblical books are infamous for their dry, historical character and largely redundant content.<sup>1</sup> In this piece, I do not intend to argue that the author(s) of the books of Chronicles were prophets, nor do I wish to dwell on the Chronicler's<sup>2</sup> treatment of a particular historical prophet or prophetic message.<sup>3</sup> However, I do propose that the historiographical process of rewriting the material preserved in 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings<sup>4</sup> might be understood as similar in nature to the literarization process applied to the words of the prophets elsewhere in the biblical canon. Further, reading the books of Chronicles in light of current scholarship on prophecy serves to draw attention to imagery used by the Chronicler to foreshadow events contemporary to the writing of 1 and 2 Chronicles.

In other words, I propose that the Chronicler's rewritten history of the religious community of Israel was shaped by two major influences. First, by the West Semitic prophetic spirit and the process of its literarization – that is, the treatment of prophetic reports by the literati of Yehud.<sup>5</sup> Second, by

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<sup>1</sup> What Ben Zvi called “the bad PR that has accompanied this book for centuries [...] the book is considered more often than not as, at best, of peripheral importance from historical, literary or theological perspectives. The book is often described as being boring, inferior to other biblical narrative works – never mind to books such as Isaiah or Hosea [...]” and so on (Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* [London, 2005], 20).

<sup>2</sup> I use this term as shorthand for an unknown entity – an author, authors, school of thought, or redactor who was primarily responsible for the shaping of 1 and 2 Chr in the form preserved today.

<sup>3</sup> Schniedewind has summarized and added to scholarship on this subject most successfully in his discussion of the Chronicler's characterization of the prophets as historians; see William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield, 1995), esp. p. 22–29, 228–30.

<sup>4</sup> Along with some other sources now lost to us, see below.

<sup>5</sup> The term “Yehud” is here used interchangeably with “Judah” as the name for the territory surrounding Jerusalem. Though the conquest of the southern kingdom by Babylon certainly resulted in the loss of territory formally controlled by the elites in Jerusalem, I mean to emphasize the continuity between the pre- and post-exilic (or Persian Period) populations of this area. The northern kingdom, now known as “Samaria” after its capital city, is also here considered to have maintained an essential continuity with its former identity as “Israel,” though the vast population movements resulting from its conquest by Assyria (both emigration of Samaritans and outside groups resettled in Samaria by the Assyrians) mark enough of a break that the term “Samaria” will be used exclusively to discuss the

the Persepolitan royal imagery<sup>6</sup> disseminated throughout the Persian Empire of the 6th–4th centuries B.C.E. Through a detailed investigation of 2 Chr 6:13, I will show that the Chronicler aimed to renew and strengthen existing images of Israel's ideal king – personified in the image of King Solomon. In doing so, the Chronicler produced an innovative textual iconography of Israelite kingship, meant to resonate with contemporaries familiar with Achaemenid symbols of power and prestige.

### Writing the Word of YHWH: The Literarization of History and Prophecy

Although prophecy<sup>7</sup> as a phenomenon is recognized as one common to Mari, Mesopotamia, and other Near Eastern contexts, “the huge process of collecting, editing, and interpreting prophecy that took place as a part of the formation of the Hebrew Bible is virtually without precedent in the rest of the ancient Near East.”<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the problems of literacy and writing are now widely recognized as central to understanding the transmission, redaction, audience, and use of all components of the biblical text, including both historiographic and prophetic texts.<sup>9</sup> Despite recent debates on literacy rates in pre- and post-exilic Israel, it can be said that those who composed and redacted biblical texts held special status, and that the texts they produced reflect specific ideological purposes – purposes which were inseparable from their written-ness.<sup>10</sup> Those prophetic works that were written down

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northern neighbor of Yehud. When I use the term “Israel” or “Israelite,” I will for the most part be signifying the religious community of Israel as perceived by the Chronicler.

<sup>6</sup> That is, the iconographic tradition as displayed at Persepolis (as an administrative hub and the ceremonial capital of the Achaemenid Empire), as well as the program of Achaemenid self-representation it embodied.

<sup>7</sup> As understood in current scholarship, variously defined but generally connoting a human transmitter who communicates a certain message or messages from a deity to a human recipient; see Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) for a summary of variations on this definition.

<sup>8</sup> Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> “[...] the way from the spoken word to a written record may be long and twisting, often employing several intermediaries between the prophet and the addressee. The messages transmitted by the prophets are exposed to all the stylistic, ideological and material requirements active in the process of transmission, which may carry beyond the oral stage into the written. Hence, the so-called *ipsissima verba* of the prophets are beyond reach, which only stresses the need to pay attention to the socioreligious preconditions of the whole process instead of the personality of the prophet.” Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 5; Cf. also idem, “Spoken, Written, Quoted and Invented: Orality and Writtenness in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy,” in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi & Michael H. Floyd; SBLSymS 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 235–71.

<sup>10</sup> “[...] within a society in which the vast majority is illiterate and the total number of highly literate people is minuscule, the explicitly written character of particular instances of the word of

must have been considered relevant not only for an audience contemporary with the prophet himself, but also for future generations:

[...] the written text, as it was composed, redacted, studied, stored, read, and reread by the literati of the period was – from their point of view at least – ‘a word of YHWH.’ As such, its material presence, in the form of the text to which they had direct access, was likely to communicate symbolically and metaphorically a sense of the divine presence among them. The world of the text reflected and shaped a social memory of YHWH’s interaction with Israel in the past; the actual presence of the material text and their dealings with it constructed an image of YHWH’s interaction with Israel as it was conducted in their times, from their own perspective.<sup>11</sup>

As Ehud Ben Zvi,<sup>12</sup> Philip R. Davies,<sup>13</sup> and others have pointed out, we are talking more about transformation of these source texts than simple preservation in many cases; and in this sense the two corpora of biblical history and biblical prophecy are fundamentally linked. The source material adapted by each seems to have been considered in some sense sacred, linked as it was to the story of YHWH’s guidance of the community of Israel, and yet in each case the written word is altered again and again to create a continually relevant telling of the past.

Because of the unique features of the books of 1 and 2 Chronicles – chronologically, ideologically, and in the preservation of texts so closely related to their production elsewhere in the biblical canon – they represent an excellent case study for exploring the application of methodologies developed for prophecy and iconography to a historiographical text.

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YHWH – that is, ‘the prophetic books’ themselves – cannot be considered a theological or literary feature of secondary importance. Rather, it is one of the most salient features of this literature, and it should be treated as such by historical-critical scholarship. In fact, this feature has a substantial bearing on the social role of these books, the status of their composers and readers (as opposed to those to whom the text must be read), the social function of high literacy, the construction of language and discourse, and the role of writing in the propagation of theological/ideological viewpoints, including particular views of society and its hierarchy.” Ehud Ben Zvi “Introduction: Writings, Speeches, and the Prophetic Books – Setting an Agenda,” in Ben Zvi and Floyd, *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, 1–29, esp. p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ben Zvi, “Introduction,” 12.

<sup>12</sup> See Ben Zvi, “Introduction,” 13–14: “It is worth stressing, however, that the literati who shared this discourse, copying, storing, retrieving, reading, and rereading these written texts, were the same literati who also redacted, edited, and even composed them. Thus the written character of the prophetic books (among other books of the time) led to both actual textual fluidity and discursive as well as symbolic permanence. [...] the process of composing, redacting, and editing prophetic books, along with the use of written sources for these purposes, would have had much to do with the literati’s self identification as animators of the prophets and YHWH, or in other words, with a quasi-prophetic status.”

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Philip R. Davies, “‘Pen of Iron, Point of Diamond’ (Jer 17:1): Prophecy as Writing,” in Ben Zvi and Floyd, *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, 74–77.

## The Chronicler's Project

The books of 1 and 2 Chronicles are collectively one of the few books of the Bible that can be dated with near consensus by biblical scholars. The author of this work is no longer thought to be the same as that of Ezra-Nehemiah;<sup>14</sup> instead he is thought to have lived in Yehud during the middle of the 4th century B.C.E.<sup>15</sup> The Achaemenid Persian Period in Yehud has of late become the subject of a great deal of speculation in the study of ancient Israel. The flurry of scholarship emerging on the social, political, and literary activity that did (or did not) take place during the late 6th–late 4th centuries B.C.E. in the territory east of the Jordan River has already made promising strides toward fleshing out a time and a place which had rarely appeared on the radar of early 20th century scholarship.<sup>16</sup> It has been common more recently to talk about *Judah in the Persian period* or *Judah as part of Herodotus' ninth satrapy*, for example, though exploring the Achaemenid Empire as more than just a temporal or political phase of Judah's development is rarely undertaken in biblical studies. This project attempts to view Yehud during the period of Achaemenid rule not only as subject to Persian military presence, taxes, or other imperial policy, but as participant in and part of an ideological empire as well. The evidence seems to indicate that the elites in Yehud were fully aware of the Achaemenid program of deliberate artistic and symbolic representation of their distinct brand of kingship (see below). Though located on the periphery of the empire, Yehud and its neighbors were surrounded by images of the imperial center (as represented most paradigmatically by the reliefs at the heartland capital of Persepolis), and would inevitably be negotiating with, and responding to these images and their symbolic referents in their own "Judahite" artistic and literary productions during this period of two hundred years.

Yehud was situated at the far west of the Achaemenid Persian Empire relative to its center in Iran. And yet the texts produced in Yehud during the Persian period present a different type of center-periphery model. To the

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<sup>14</sup> A long-prevailing hypothesis convincingly disproved by Sara Japhet ("The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 [1968]: 330-71) and further invalidated by Hugh G.M. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* [NCB, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982]).

<sup>15</sup> Ackroyd defines the "Age of the Chronicler" as falling between the dedication of the Second Temple (515 B.C.E.) and the time of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.E.), considering the Chronicler's viewpoint to be generally indicative of that of elites affiliated with the Temple throughout this period. Aside from the Chronicler's focus on the First Temple (in order to legitimize the institutions and rituals of the Second Temple in his own time), other references in the text help establish these dates; e.g., 1 Chr 29:7 references "ten thousand darics of gold," a Persian coin not minted before 515 B.C.E.

<sup>16</sup> Note, for example, the 1924 reports of the Harvard Excavations at Samaria, which adopted a periodization consisting of "Israelite," "post-Israelite," "Preherodian," and "Roman" levels.

biblical authors, Jerusalem was the true center – not only as the primary political seat of Yehud, but as the seat of YHWH's Temple and in its permanent sacredness as the place of YHWH's choosing. As Melody D. Knowles recognized, "in the biblical texts, centrality is constructed and enacted through both divine choice and human maintenance of sacred spaces."<sup>17</sup> In investigating these texts, it may be worthwhile to inquire how the Chronicler's conception of Jerusalem as once-and-future "center" may have caused him to incorporate notions of king and kingship then in common currency throughout the Achaemenid Empire. I suggest that the picture painted by Persian period authors of Israel in its heyday – the period of the united monarchy under David and Solomon – would have been influenced by 6th–4th century notions of what "empire" looks like: that is, Achaemenid kingship and its relationship to the collective of ruled peoples, as disseminated by the Persepolitan program of Achaemenid self-representation.

Ostensibly, the Chronicler sets out to rewrite the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, using the earlier sources of 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings (with the books of Joshua and Judges, known collectively as "the Deuteronomistic History") along with some other sources now lost to us. Most have argued that he is doing so in order to make an old history relevant for a new age. As summarized by Yigal Levin:

[...] in the postexilic period, the monarchy was gone; the Judean province was ruled by Persian-appointed governors, some local and some not. The priesthood was becoming more and more powerful, assuming a role in political leadership. The northern kingdom was replaced by the usually hostile [<sup>18</sup>] province of Samaria. This was the reality known to the Chronicler's intended readers.<sup>19</sup>

Literary redactions or "layers" in the Deuteronomistic History have been dated variously from the 8th century B.C.E. to the 6th century B.C.E. exile. The issues are complicated and their resolution is still without consensus,<sup>20</sup> but even according to the lowest scholarly estimates, the Deuteronomistic History can be dated at least 150–200 years before the Chronicler's mag-

<sup>17</sup> Melody D. Knowles, *Centrality Practiced: Jerusalem in the Religious Practice of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period* (Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies 16; Atlanta, 2006), 6.

<sup>18</sup> The hostility between Yehud and Samaria was mutual – those in Samaria may well have been amongst the remnant of Israelites who remained in the land after the destruction of Samaria (the capital) by the Assyrians, and after the Babylonian exile of elites from the southern kingdom of Judah. Worshipping YHWH at a Temple on Mt. Gerizim, the Samaritans were seen as a threat to the cultic centrality of Jerusalem and the Second Temple there by the elites (especially the priestly elites) who had returned from exile in Babylon.

<sup>19</sup> Yigal Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience? A Hint from His Genealogies," in *JBL* 122 (2003): 229–45, esp. p. 237.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," in *JBL* 114 (1995): 607–22, esp. p. 607–8 for summary.

*num opus*. Whatever the historiographic goals of the Deuteronomistic History had been – perhaps to explain the Babylonian exile as the result of the failure of Israel’s kings to follow the Mosaic covenant – the changing times must have seemed, to the Chronicler and to later traditions which preserved his work alongside the Deuteronomistic History, to require a new record and interpretation of this history.

The motivations underlying this work’s production and alteration of its source material have been subject to thorough scholarly analysis for over 100 years. For the most part, focus has been on the Chronicler’s theological position – what he is telling us about his understanding of the relationship between YHWH and Israel.<sup>21</sup> This has involved locating the Chronicler in the historical and religious continuum of Israelite thought: how the Chronicler’s project relates to histories and prophetic works that preceded him, as well as to those which came after his period of literary activity. To a lesser extent, this has also produced speculation as to the Chronicler’s position on Achaemenid authority over Yehud, often in a very literal way – did the Chronicler see Cyrus as the next occupant of the throne of YHWH? What was the extent of Cyrus’ role as fulfiller of YHWH’s plan for Israel? Because the Chronicler’s history ends with what is presented as the text of Cyrus’ decree to the exiled Judahites to return and rebuild the Temple (without commentary), this question has produced opposing answers from biblical scholars;<sup>22</sup> though all agree it is significant for understanding the Chronicler’s goals. Thus, the following points of contact in the relationship between 1 and 2 Chronicles and the Achaemenid Empire have been discussed by biblical scholars:

- *Temporal relationship*: The Chronicler wrote his history during the Persian Period.
- *Circumstantial relationship*: The Chronicler was motivated to re-write Israel’s history following the rebuilding of the Temple (and probably was closely associated with Temple administration). The Persians were responsible for permission (and funds?) to rebuild the Temple, thus the Chronicler is dependent on their policies for his position.
- *Political relationship*: There is no king in Jerusalem. The Persian king ostensibly rules Yehud, along with the rest of the empire, at the time the Chronicler is writing.

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<sup>21</sup> Here I mean “Israel” as a religious community as perceived by elites in Jerusalem. In this sense the term serves to signify an emic identity (the term is used to self-refer throughout the Chronicler’s history, though his ultimate position is that only those who worship YHWH at Jerusalem—thus those in the province of Yehud – represent the true inheritors of this identification).

<sup>22</sup> That is, that the Chronicler was either “optimistic” or “pessimistic” about Yehud’s position under Persian rule.



– *Textual relationship; possibly political/religious/theological relationship*: The Chronicler ends his history with Cyrus' decree to rebuild the Temple. This is certainly significant as a chosen ending (but has been interpreted in various ways).

Lacking in the scholarship on the books of Chronicles is any sense that the Chronicler's work would, by its very nature, be an active partner in an *ideological relationship* with Achaemenid iconography, symbols, and webs of meaning. The Achaemenid presence in the text should not be read simply as an imperial framework within which Yehud functions more or less on its own trajectory, responding only when faced with physical stimuli from above (for example, taxation and military presence). Instead, 1 and 2 Chronicles should be read with a mind open and attenuated to Persian tropes and themes throughout. Alongside the Chronicler's "Israelite" sources (the Deuteronomistic History, along with what may have been other records kept at Jerusalem), it may be useful to attempt to read his Achaemenid sources – the texts and images which inform his sense of what is "modern," "relevant," or "powerful" in a real and tangible manner.

As an elite of Yehud closely associated with the Temple, the Chronicler would have been aware of Achaemenid images of kingship and how to use them.<sup>23</sup> Scholars have agreed that the Chronicler's purpose for re-writing history was that history of Israel written in exile lacked relevancy – it is time to consider more closely what would have been "relevant" with respect to kingship in 4th century Yehud.

### Achaemenid Images of Kingship in the History of Judah

In considering how Achaemenid notions of kingship play into the history of Israel as written by the Chronicler, it is important to note that the Chronicler is by no means adopting the Achaemenid program of kingship iconography in its entirety, nor is he explicitly referencing many of his sources (whether textual or otherwise). Thus his text represents an amalgam of referents – some images will resonate with the long-established trope of the Israelite king and those qualities which made him powerful in the days of the monarchy; other textual images may be speaking to Achaemenid kingship, the kingship which is most present for the Chronicler and his contemporaries.

<sup>23</sup> That is, that he would have known what they "meant," or what messages they were meant to convey. There is no reason to assume that images associated with the center of an empire would have been "degraded" or "misunderstood" when adopted or adapted by elites in other parts of the periphery of that empire.

Methodologically, it may be useful to think more broadly about the tools of textual studies and those of art history; that is, to think metaphorically about the Chronicler's work as if each scene were an artistic rendering, a portrait or a relief. In this way I hope to study the image of Solomon in 2 Chronicles as "iconography," just as Margaret Cool Root<sup>24</sup> has shown us the benefit of reading artistic representation as "text" – to proceed as if every detail has meaning.

Since both the Chronicler's final text and his main source material (the Deuteronomistic History) were preserved, we are in a unique position to appraise his alterations to the portraits of David and Solomon he inherits. Those who have written on the Chronicler's historiography in the past have focused on the centrality of the figure of David in the narrative. Summaries like Gwilym H. Jones' are common:

The divine establishment of David's reign was of undoubted importance for the structure of the Chronicler's work, a point that is affirmed by the attention given to it in many expositions of his purpose. It was with David that he began his history; most Pentateuchal traditions have been ignored; traditions about the conquest and the period of the judges have not been mentioned; the reign of Saul has been summarized in a single chapter. On the other hand the Chronicler's coverage of David is copious and his presentation of the founder of the dynasty is highly developed. Because this was the divinely established dynasty, the history of the northern kingdom could be ignored. God had chosen "Israel" as represented in the Judaeen dynasty of David (1 Chron. 28:4).<sup>25</sup>

It is certainly true that the history of David's reign – his capture of Jerusalem from the Jebusites, his moving the Ark, his battles with the Philistines, his covenant with YHWH, and his preparations for the Temple – take up a large number of chapters in the Chronicler's history (1 Chr 11–29), just as they did in the Deuteronomistic History (2 Sam 1–24; 1 Kgs 1–2). And it is also true that the Chronicler's ideological concerns are at work in his treatment of the Deuteronomistic Historian's David. Certain ignominious episodes are eliminated altogether (for example, the story of David and Bathsheba), other portions are modified (sequences altered, speeches added or changed, etc.), and more attention is given to David's relationship to Temple preparations (setting aside materials or monies for its future construction). But one fundamental character flaw remains prominent in the Chronicler's presentation of David as king of Israel: David is told explicitly that his reign was too bloody for YHWH to grant him permission to build the Temple in Jerusalem.

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<sup>24</sup> Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Acta Iranica 19; Leiden, 1979).

<sup>25</sup> Gwilym H. Jones, *I & II Chronicles* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield, 1993), 107–8.

Instead, Solomon – as David's son – is fated to do so. This promise is not made unconditionally, but Solomon's wisdom and piety throughout the Chronicler's description of his reign (2 Chr 1–9) prove him worthy for the task. None of the black marks on Solomon's reputation known from 1 Kgs 11:1–40 are included or alluded to. Instead, Solomon is made to be the Israelite king *par excellence*, the king who ensures that YHWH's covenant with David's line will be honored. Because of this relationship between what David began and Solomon finished, much of the scholarship from the last fifteen years has read the Chronicler's work on David and Solomon as one literary or ideological unit, with both kings serving one purpose in the Chronicler's theological narrative.<sup>26</sup>

But such a reading obscures the individual attributes of these two figures. Recognizing the centrality of the Temple and the ultimate importance of its construction in the history of Israel as put forth in 1 and 2 Chronicles does not preclude reading these two figures as representing different paradigms of kingship. The fact remains that David the conqueror was not chosen to provide a home for YHWH. This privilege was reserved for a king of peace (*šlm*), a wise king, King Solomon (*šlmw*). I argue that the author of the books of Chronicles presents Solomon as the ideal Israelite king,<sup>27</sup> and that the changes he makes in the Deuteronomistic Historian's account of Solomon's reign work toward supporting this characterization.

What might the Chronicler's choice of Solomon as ideal king say to his contemporary audience? Certainly painting a portrait of Solomon as the perfect Israelite king adds prestige to the legitimacy of the first Temple (destroyed in 586 B.C.E.) as both a building and an institution. By extension, this might advocate in favor of adopting (or accepting, or legitimizing) similar institutional features in the second Temple (established in the 5th

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps mirroring the relationship between Moses and Joshua – the former does the hard work of bringing the Israelites to a homeland, but is not himself allowed to enter into it; the latter inherits leadership of Israel and participates in the final culmination of YHWH's promise to his people.

<sup>27</sup> This conclusion was originally drawn by Rudolf Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes* (Freiburger theologische Studien 92; Freiburg, 1973), who was criticized for "rejecting" David as the paradigmatic king of Israel. Critique of his arguments focused mostly on the continuing use of the term "line of David" to describe the dynastic line at Jerusalem. In my estimation, recognizing Solomon as ideal king as conceived during the *pax persica* says nothing negative about David's violent establishment of the state. This might have been considered something like the necessary "birth pangs" of Israel's statehood. There is no question that David's contributions were seen as valiant and valuable. Note Steven Schweitzer's most recent study (*Reading Utopia in Chronicles* [LHBOTS 442; New York, 2007], 81): "whereas David is not without his faults, Solomon is presented as the nearly perfect ruler who exceeds the success of his father, and is presented in categories that are not only utopian but also ideal. Solomon is first and foremost 'chosen' (בָּחַר) by God, just as his father David was. It is significant that in Samuel-Kings only David receives such laudatory claims, while in Chronicles the term is applied to both David and Solomon—but to no one else."

cent. B.C.E.). Further, Solomon's kingdom was a wide-reaching empire according to these texts. Ambassadors (like the Queen of Sheba) came from far and wide to see the wealth and wisdom of Israel's king. And large-scale building projects were said to have been undertaken throughout Israel. In other words, the literary version of Solomon's kingdom seems most like the Persian period reality known to the Chronicler's audience. The Chronicler seems to be coaxing those who would read his text to imagine Israel's king in the shoes of the Achaemenid rulers. Though the physical size of the empire under Solomon may be similar in the Deuteronomistic History, Solomon's worship of multiple gods, inspired by his multiple, foreign-born wives, severely qualify any nostalgic feelings for "golden days" that might otherwise have been inspired. The Chronicler is very clear in making the kingdom of Solomon out to be a perfect, ideologically consistent time in the history of Israel; the days when YHWH had chosen an Israelite to rule on His (YHWH's) throne.

The metaphorical throne or seat of kingship in question is explicitly YHWH's throne in 1 and 2 Chronicles. YHWH seems to be considered the true ruler of Israel, and anoints earthly representatives only when they have proven worthy. Note the following alterations of this expression from the Chronicler's source text:

<i>Chronicles</i>		<i>Deuteronomistic History</i>	
And from all my sons, for YHWH has given me many sons, he chose Solomon my son to sit <b>on the throne of the kingdom of YHWH</b> over Israel.	1 Chr 28:5 (part of a speech made by David)	<i>No parallel</i>	
So Solomon sat on <b>the throne of YHWH</b> as king in place of David his father; he prospered and all Israel obeyed him.	1 Chr 29:23	So Solomon sat upon <b>the throne of David</b> his father and his royal power was firmly established.	1 Kgs 2:12
May YHWH your God be blessed who delighted in you by setting you on <b>His throne as king for YHWH</b> your God. Since your God loves Israel and he established it forever, he has set you over them as king to enact justice and righteousness.	2 Chr 9:8 (spoken to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba)	May YHWH your God be blessed who delighted in you by setting you on <b>the throne of Israel</b> . Since YHWH loves Israel forever he has put you as king to enact justice and righteousness.	1 Kgs 10:9 (spoken to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba)

Not only does this kind of language allow for the preservation of Israel's identity in a post-monarchical world (as YHWH, who was truly king "all along" is still ruling), it also hearkens to a stronger notion of divine investi-

ture than was present in the earlier text. The ultimate choice of a king in Israel (and arguably the world) belongs to YHWH, who could (hypothetically) choose anyone, even someone from outside David's line. The physical throne of Israel has become a metaphorical seat of kingship; the throne of Israel need not sit in Israel. This new construction or formulation of Israel's kingship strengthens Solomon's successes all the more. YHWH's relationship with Solomon is an intimate one, and throughout Solomon is said to be supported in his deeds by "all the assembly of Israel."

The significance of this particular image, "all the assembly of Israel," is complex and may have resonated with the Chronicler's audience on a number of different levels. On one hand, his audience may have heard in such a phrase an argument invalidating the Deuteronomistic History's claim that Solomon's ascendancy to the throne was not automatic – that he was not the only son of David who claimed the legitimate right to rule. On the other hand, it may have spoken to contrast the days of Solomon with the situation in 4th century Yehud – the division between Samaritan and Yehudite, or the separation between those still in Babylon and those in Yehud. But the term "all the assembly of Israel" may also have resonated in a third way for the Chroniclers' audience. It may have summoned images known from Achaemenid representations – images of a wide ranging empire, with diverse peoples, all witness to the power and piety of the Achaemenid king.

Root<sup>28</sup> has described the paradigmatic visual images of this theme known from the Achaemenid heartland – a theme she calls "The King on High" (**fig. 1**). The theme involves a number of elements: a hierarchical arrangement (in which the king is larger than his subjects, and is held aloft by them), a certain stylistically represented emotional stance (in which the relationship between the figures is consistently expressed as "a cooperative effort of voluntary support of the king by the subject peoples"<sup>29</sup>; **fig. 2**), as well as unrealistic details that marks the image as metaphorical (subjects lifting the king on their fingertips, subjects smaller than the furniture legs of the king's platform, etc.; **fig. 3**). The most striking examples of this theme can be found on the tomb facades of Darius and his successors (**fig. 4**), in the Central Building of Darius, and in the Throne Hall of Xerxes-Artaxerxes, though representations like the statue of Darius mentioned above also evoke this theme. As Root has noted, these images are as striking for the relationship between king and peoples that they portray as they are for what they do not portray – scenes of subjugation, imperial force, or other aspects of "calculated frightfulness" known from other Near Eastern art.

<sup>28</sup> Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

Just as in these images, the people of Israel play a relatively passive and supportive role throughout the narrative of Solomon's reign in 2 Chronicles. They are present for each of his triumphs, and act as one voice in supporting him. As Hugh G.M. Williamson noted, "There is, it is true, a tendency towards 'democratisation', in that we frequently find the king consulting with his people and involving them closely in the major events of the history."<sup>30</sup> Though text is not as poetic as artistic image in its ability to represent the concept of "support" for a ruler, it is worth exploring this further in order to understand what the Chronicler may be intending.

At one particular point in the text, the Deuteronomistic History itself mentions the presence of the assembly of Israel. This is, by all scholarly accounts, the dramatic height of both texts – the dedication of the Temple. The Chronicler preserves almost all of his source text, lifting the scene of Solomon's speech to Israel right out of the Deuteronomistic History. But the scene is quite complete, it seems: the Chronicler adds a single verse, introducing some piece of bronze furniture (כִּיֹּר). My translation of the relevant passages follows:

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<sup>30</sup> Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 28.

<i>2 Chronicles 6</i>	<i>1 Kings 8</i>
<sup>1</sup> Then Solomon said, "YHWH said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.	<sup>12</sup> Then Solomon said, "YHWH said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.
<sup>2</sup> And I have surely built a house of loftiness for you, and a place for your dwelling forever."	<sup>13</sup> And I have surely built a house of loftiness for you, and a place for your dwelling forever."
<sup>3</sup> And the king turned his face, and blessed all the assembly of Israel, and all the assembly of Israel was standing.	<sup>14</sup> And the king turned his face, and blessed all the assembly of Israel, and all the assembly of Israel was standing.
<sup>4</sup> And he said, "Blessed be YHWH, God of Israel, who spoke by his mouth with my father David, and fulfilled it with his hands, saying [...]"	<sup>15</sup> And he said, "Blessed be YHWH, God of Israel, who spoke by his mouth with my father David, and fulfilled it with his hands, saying [...]"
vv. 5–9: Recounts the exodus from Egypt, the choice of Jerusalem as holy city, and David (Solomon's father) as leader of Israel.	vv. 16–19: Recounts the exodus from Egypt, the choice of Jerusalem as holy city, and David (Solomon's father) as leader of Israel.
<sup>10</sup> YHWH has lifted up his word that he spoke, for I have risen up under David my father, and I sit on the throne of Israel, as YHWH said, and I have built the house for the name of YHWH, the God of Israel.	<sup>20</sup> YHWH has lifted up his word that he spoke, for I have risen up under David my father, and I sit on the throne of Israel, as YHWH said, and I have built the house for the name of YHWH, the God of Israel.
<sup>11</sup> And I placed the ark there, where there is the covenant of YHWH, which he made with the sons of Israel."	<sup>21</sup> And I set there a place for the ark, where there is the covenant of YHWH, which he made with our fathers when he brought them out from the land of Egypt."
<sup>12</sup> And he stood before the altar of YHWH across from all the assembly of Israel, and spread out his hands.	<sup>22</sup> And Solomon stood before the altar of YHWH across from all the assembly of Israel, and spread his hands [to] the heavens.
<sup>13</sup> For Solomon had made a bronze כִּיּוֹר, five cubits long, and five cubits wide, and three cubits high, and put it in the midst of the court. And he stood on it and knelt on his knees before all the assembly of Israel, and spread out his hands toward heaven,	
<sup>14</sup> And he said, "YHWH, god of Israel, there is no god like you in heaven or earth, keeping covenant and mercy with(?) your servants, who walk before you with all their heart."	<sup>23</sup> And he said, "YHWH, god of Israel, there is no god like you in the heavens above or the earth beneath, keeping covenant and mercy with(?) your servants, who walk before you with all their heart."

The verse has been considered problematic – why should the Chronicler have added this verse here, without any perceptible purpose? The Chronicler typically adds descriptive content only to clarify, or to create harmonization between two versions of a story. But “nothing is said about this platform anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible, not even in the earlier specifications of the furnishings of the Temple in C[hronicles].”<sup>31</sup> The following is a summary of previous scholarly interpretation of the verse, presented in biblical commentaries ranging from 1910 to 2005 (without consensus):

<sup>31</sup> William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles, Volume 1: 1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place among the Nations* (JSOTSup 253; Sheffield, 1997), 341–42.

Treatments of 2 Chr 6:13 in the commentaries:

Curtis and Madsen (1910) <sup>32</sup>	Chronicler's addition	"May have arisen from the desire to remove Solomon from the place before the altar as a place sacred for the priests."
Rudolph (1955) <sup>33</sup>	Dropped from Kgs	a) The fact that the dimensions of the platform are given contrasts with the Chronicler's practice elsewhere. b) Solomon's kneeling position seems to be presupposed by 1 Kgs 8:54, but without the "lost" verse it might be thought he was standing (cf. 1 Kgs 8:22) c) the loss of this verse can be explained by homoioteleuton (note "and spread forth his hands" in both v. 12 and 13)
Lemke (1965) <sup>34</sup>	Dropped from Kgs	Follows Rudolph
North (1968) <sup>35</sup>	Chronicler's addition	In response to Rudolph, 1 Kgs 8:54 is more likely a later addition.
Mosis (1973) <sup>36</sup>	Chronicler's addition	The repetition of "and spread forth his hands" betrays verse 13 as a later addition
Williamson (1982) <sup>37</sup>	Addition made to Kgs in a version which is not extant but was known to the Chronicler	"Since we know that his [the Chronicler's] <i>Vorlage</i> was not always identical with the MT of Samuel and Kings, it seems best on balance to regard this verse as an addition indeed to 1 Kgs 8, but made prior to the Chronicler in a textual tradition of that chapter no longer preserved for us."
McKenzie (1985) <sup>38</sup>	Dropped from Kgs	Result of homoioteleuton (scribe skipped copying verse 12 to the end of verse 13, as it were).
DeVries (1989) <sup>39</sup>	Dropped from Kgs	Follows Lemke
Japhet (1993) <sup>40</sup>	Chronicler's addition	"If the insertion of the 'bronze platform' is, as it seems to be, an intentional correction, with the point of changing the place of Solomon's addressing the people, then both I Kings 8.54 and v. 13 would be secondary to the original narrative of Kings [...]. This change of place is combined with the practical point of providing the kneeling Solomon with an elevated position 'above the people.'"
Johnstone (1997) <sup>41</sup>	Chronicler's addition	a) Provides a more elaborate setting of the scene than is found in Kings.

<sup>32</sup> E.L. Curtis and A.A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1910), 342.

<sup>33</sup> Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 1/21; Tübingen, 1955), 213.

<sup>34</sup> Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–63.

<sup>35</sup> Robert North, "The Chronicler: 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown et al; London, 1990 [1968]), 373.

<sup>36</sup> Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, 145.

<sup>37</sup> Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 218.

<sup>38</sup> Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta, 1985), 95.

<sup>39</sup> Simon De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL 11; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1989), 258.

<sup>40</sup> Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 590.



		b) Serves to point out that "[Solomon's] petition in the presence of the people cannot take place in the inner court of the Temple where the altar of burnt offering is, but must be in the outer concourse."
Kalimi (2005) <sup>42</sup>	Chronicler's addition	The Chronicler repeats the phrase "in the presence of all the congregation of Israel and spread out his hands" in 6:13b to serve as a resumptive repetition linking verses 12 and 14. "Because of the frequency of the use of resumptive repetition in the book of Chronicles and because of the following signs <sup>43</sup> of late language employed in 2 Chr 6:13, we must conclude that this passage is the Chronicler's own creation [...]"

Clearly the issue cannot be resolved using only the Chronicler's verse and the absence of this verse in his source material. Could the addition of a third, imaginary text – the Achaemenid image of the King on High – help understand the presence of a large bronze platform? What does this verse add to the scene of Solomon before his people?

### Iconography of Kingship: The Achaemenid Program

To explore this dynamic, I will follow Root<sup>44</sup> and subsequent Achaemenid scholarship in positing a conscious, deliberate program of self-representation undertaken by Darius I (521–486 B.C.E.) and his successors – a program which was expressed not only by the creation of an elaborately decorated capital city and series of monumental tomb carvings at the center of the Achaemenid empire, but also through the exportation of this imagery outward from the center and into the provinces in a variety of representational contexts. Examples like the statue of Darius I made for display in Egypt,<sup>45</sup> or the Behistun monument erected in Babylon to commemorate a series of

<sup>41</sup> Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 341.

<sup>42</sup> Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Ind., 2005), 277–78.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles*, 277–78:

The use of the word עוֹרֵה "court" appears in the Hebrew Bible 9 times (3 in Chronicles with no parallel; 6 in Ezekiel), and is very common in Rabbinic Hebrew and in the Aramaic Targumim.

The syntactical form וְאַחֲרָיו שְׁלוֹשׁ (noun preceding cardinal number) is "widespread in later Hebrew in general and in the Chronicler's language in particular."

<sup>44</sup> Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Acta Iranica 19; Leiden, 1979).

<sup>45</sup> In which Darius represents himself as Pharaoh (with Egyptian titulary); this was unearthed at Susa, after being moved in antiquity. Cf. Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Acta Iranica 19; Leiden, 1979), 61–72.

Achaemenid victories<sup>46</sup> are well-known, but here I will compile evidence for the presence of this kind of Achaemenid kingly iconography in Yehud, Samaria, and Phoenicia. Establishing the extent and nature of these depictions as extant in the Levant may be insightful in understanding the kind of iconography the Chronicler may have been trying to conjure.

### The Throne of the King: Achaemenid Throne Fragments in the Periphery

In 1973, Miriam Tadmor published a series of three throne fragments from Samaria<sup>47</sup> in a Hebrew publication. The article came out a year later in English,<sup>48</sup> and presented a description of the three objects:

1. Bronze lion's paw (Israel Museum No. 70.92; acquired in Samaria by Mr. S. Ben-Haim)

2. Bronze cylinder with concave moldings (Israel Museum No. 70.92; same as above)

3. Bronze lion's paw II (Israel Museum No. 69.8.428; acquired by the Israel Museum from a Jerusalem dealer; **fig. 5**)

Tadmor wrote that the bronze objects all seemed to be from the same bronze-and-wood throne, which bore striking similarity to Achaemenid thrones known from the reliefs at Persepolis (**fig. 6**).<sup>49</sup> Tadmor was also able to locate other examples of the Achaemenid lion's paw throne foot, from locations ranging from Egypt to Russia (see below).

In the late 1970s, another throne fragment turned up in an ancient shipwreck excavated off the coast of Atlit (just south of Haifa).<sup>50</sup> The lion's

<sup>46</sup> Also erected by Darius I; though often characterized as the sole example of Achaemenid representation of historical events, Margaret Cool Root ("Persian Art," *ABD* 1 [1992]: 440–47, esp. p. 442) points out that "this rock relief is in essence highly abstract in its depiction of history."

<sup>47</sup> Though all the fragments seem to have been purchased or otherwise acquired outside of legal excavation.

<sup>48</sup> Miriam Tadmor, "Fragments of an Achaemenid Throne from Samaria," *IEJ* 24 (1974): 37–43. The Hebrew original was published in *Qadmoniot* 6 (1973): 57–60.

<sup>49</sup> Tadmor, "Fragments of an Achaemenid Throne," 37.

<sup>50</sup> Before the 1980's antiquities laws passed in Israel, underwater archaeology in the area of Atlit was done by volunteers racing against amateurs scavenging for saleable objects. The shipwreck in question was located following a Dec. 1, 1977 storm, after which a survey of the area (both shoreline and underwater) was taken. While volunteers tried to collect visible metal objects at this time, conditions worsened and some objects, already bagged, were lost. Two years later attempts were made to locate more of the items; Ehud Galilée of the Center for Marine Oceanography at Haifa University conducted an underwater survey, rescuing more of the bronze/copper objects, many of which were broken (probably in order to be melted down). The seven Achaemenid throne fragments were said by the author to appear as though they came from the same throne. My thanks to Zohar Raviv for assisting me in the translation of Avner Raban's Hebrew publication ("A Group of Objects from a Wreckage Site at Atlit," *Michmanim* 6 [1992]: 31–53).

paw, upright scrolled throne leg, and cross pieces (five fragments in all) were part of the remains of the cargo of an ancient vessel carrying what were called mostly Phoenician-style metal vessels and scrap, dated to the 7th–5th centuries B.C.E. The throne fragments struck Avner Raban, who published the fragment in Hebrew in 1992, as clearly Achaemenid (**fig. 7**). Furniture in the Persepolitan style was already known from Macedonia and elsewhere closer to the Achaemenid homeland – but these pieces, along with the Samaria fragments, found so far from Achaemenid centers yet so closely mimicking royal pieces, were something new for the Levant. They were made of hollow bronze – and would have been used in conjunction with wooden legs and cross pieces to create a kind of Achaemenid throne that could have been disassembled and moved. These thrones evoked Achaemenid kingship on a lesser scale – they were symbols of kingship, governorship, or loyalty to the Persian king on a local level.

What is so striking about these throne fragments is not only the fact that they echo the major stylistic features of one another, but also that they bear such striking resemblance (with enticing locally adapted details) to the Achaemenid throne as depicted throughout the reliefs of Persepolis (**fig. 8**). The individual elements of the throne leg can be traced to Assyrian, Babylonian, or Urartian examples,<sup>51</sup> but the series taken as a whole – from the ball base, up the leg to the wreath ring, lion's paw (with rosette), and cylinder with the characteristic ringed pattern – represents an Achaemenid innovation. The series seems to have remained constant throughout its dissemination, and it is thus reasonable to assume the throne would have been recognizably Achaemenid to those who viewed it.

The provincial versions, though for the most part representing the lion's paw element (as the most recognizable element when separated from the rest of the sequence), consistently present the same sequence of elements as the thrones depicted at Persepolis (**fig. 9**). Parivash Jamzadeh, in a 1991 dissertation on the iconography and symbolic nature of the Achaemenid throne wrote, “the concept of the throne to the Achaemenids, it may be argued,

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Parivash Jamzadeh, *The Achaemenid Throne: Its Significance and its Legacy* (Ph. D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 9–21, who traces the earliest occurrences of lion and bull feet in furniture to 3rd millennium B.C.E. Egypt, but sees closer antecedents for the Achaemenid throne in Urartian furniture legs from Toprak Kale, Altintepe, Kayalidere and Nimrud. Cf. also the thorough work of Helmut Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen: Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Sitz- und Liegemöbel vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft; Berlin, 1969), as well as the more recent explorations of Peter Calmeyer, “Achaemenidische Möbel und <sup>15</sup>Kussû ša Šarrute,” in *The Furniture of Western Asia: Ancient and Traditional, Papers of the Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28–30, 1993* (ed. Georgina Herrmann; Mainz, 1996), 223–31 and Stavros Paspalas, “On Persian-Type Furniture in Macedonia: The Recognition and Transmission of Forms,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000): 531–60.

was more than just a piece of furniture. It was important only as long as it signified the seat of the king, whether as a furniture object, as a palace complex, or as an entire province."<sup>52</sup> Notably, the appropriation of this throne leg sequence in later times also supports its use as a symbolic trope in the Achaemenid period:

An interesting phenomenon is the creation of an iconic device (the throne-leg) that endures well beyond its time and carries its significance and its intended original portent into future times. This device became a legitimizing emblem for subsequent dynasties; it served as a link to the Achaemenid line and its composition was seen to bear the essence of older traditions of kingship. This emblem succeeded in establishing a fixed point of reference for the representation of Iranian kingship in art.<sup>53</sup>

Examining the Samaria, Athlit, and other throne fragments from outside of Persepolis and other Achaemenid power centers forces us to consider the throne leg sequence's meaning in more detail. Certainly, we wonder what these multiple thrones at the periphery of the empire could have been for – display, ritual use, or some other performative value: Were they simply a reminder of who was in charge, that is, a physical symbol – even something like a relic – of the might and power of the Achaemenid King of Kings? Or were they thought to represent not the king that was abroad, but the legitimacy of his representative in the province? Was each city that sported one of these treasures a kind of “little Persepolis,” with its own Achaemenid-style figurehead and its own throne hall?

Unfortunately, no primary archaeological context was preserved for any of these throne fragments. Our only other clue is a half a mold for a similar ringed cylinder piece, found during the early Harvard Excavations at Samaria (Registration No. 2934; **fig. 10**). At the time of its publication, it was described by Reisner as a “pottery mold of coarse black-brown ware, with a red wash. The ware seems to be Israelite and the mold was found with Israelite pottery.”<sup>54</sup> Tadmor reanalyzed the fragment in light of its similarities to the Samaria throne fragment, dating it to the Achaemenid period (though she was unable to reexamine it, as it had gone missing from the Harvard Semitic museum). A careful reading of the 1924 published excavation reports supports this re-dating – the mold fragment was found in

<sup>52</sup> Jamzadeh, *The Achaemenid Throne*, x.

<sup>53</sup> Jamzadeh, *The Achaemenid Throne*, viii.

<sup>54</sup> G.A. Reisner, C.S. Fisher, and D.G. Lyon. *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1924), Vol 1, 338: See Pls. 64 m; 68 l 5. Found on June 22, 1910. It is unclear how many of the objects in collection I were found with the mold fragment (Vol. 2 pl. 68, 1). The collection is identified in the plate index of Vol. 2 as consisting of five round “clay weights,” one small round grinding stone (? called a “stone rubber”), and another fragment, described as a “pottery mold,” though not apparently connected to the throne cylinder mold discussed above. Plate 68 as a whole is entitled “miscellaneous objects, mainly Hellenistic.”

fill beneath an Herodian tower with a variety of discarded objects, most of which were, in fact, of relatively late date:

June 21–25 [1910]. S[outh] G[ate] T[errace]. Clearing through black debris evidently formed by dumping. It contained Israelite potsherds, Greek red-figured pottery (Reg. No. 2914), Rhodian jar-handles, Hellenistic pottery, an agate cone-seal (Reg. No. 3017), a coin of Ptolemy II (Reg. No. 3105), and one of Antiocha ad Orontem (Reg. No. 3024). The construction trench of the Herodian tower cut through this black dump (see Pls. 46a and 54 c), showing that the debris was deposited previous to the construction of the tower [...]. Under the black debris was a semicircular mound of yellow debris centering on the gateway. In this yellow debris, the Assyrian letter sealing (Reg. No. 2925) was found together with a few small Israelite potsherds.<sup>55</sup>

Although the Samaria cylinder mold fragment was found in secondary context, it is still relevant for our purposes. Its presence seems to indicate that something like the throne cross-pieces or cylinders was being made at Samaria itself. Whether the mold was used to produce the very cross-pieces used in the bronze throne (or other versions of it) which is now at the Israel Museum, or whether it was used to produce other furniture pieces with similar patterns, the fact remains that the ringed leg pattern associated with the throne leg sequence – more specifically, that pattern as produced in bronze – was known at Samaria, just as it was known somewhere else in the Mediterranean world as evidenced by the version from the Athlit shipwreck.<sup>56</sup> These, along with the other known throne fragments found throughout the empire, certainly speak to the nature and extent of the Achaemenid program of iconographic dissemination. A summary of known Achaemenid throne fragments follows:

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<sup>55</sup> This excerpt is taken from the entry for June 21–25 on p. 406, describing progress at the Gateway, 1909–10. I determined the find spot of the item by collating the object's find spot ("S.G.T. 1") and date (June 22, 1910) with the "Progress of the Excavations" diary, Vol. 1.

<sup>56</sup> The majority of the items were described as "Phoenician" in style, and it is not unreasonable to assume the throne may have been put on board with the rest of the cargo from the Phoenician coast. Still, the imprecision of the term "Phoenician" as a stylistic label necessitates reservation in making a positive identification of the throne's origin.

<i>Throne Fragment</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>
Samaria Throne fragments	Samaria (one purchased in Jerusalem)	Two bronze lion paws with 16-petalled rosettes, flanked by scrolls; with a cylinder with 6 moldings.	Tadmor 1973 and 1974 <sup>57</sup> (currently in Israel Museum; fig. 5)
Athlit throne	Underwater shipwreck off the coast of Athlit	Parts of two cross-pieces, a section of a two-member base, and "part of a leaf wreath that has been reconstructed as sitting below a torus-scotia element on which rests a lion's paw, above which, in turn, there rises a shaft consisting of six tori alternating with five scotiae." <sup>58</sup>	Raban 1992 <sup>59</sup> (fig. 7)
Louvre lion paw	Unknown provenance	Shows the "drooping sepals above the concave interval, supporting the lion's paw, the carved twelve petalled rosette and the flanking scrolls." <sup>60</sup>	Herzfeld 1988 (1941); Kyrieleis 1969 <sup>61</sup> (fig. 11)
British Museum lion's paw	Egypt	Bronze lion's paw with rounded knuckles, the twelve petalled rosette, and flanking scrolls. 11.2 (12.2? Barnett gives both) cm. high.	Barnett 1950 (fig. 12) <sup>62</sup>
Lion's paw fragment	Toprakkale (Lake Van), Caucasus	Variant with winged sun disk in place of Rosette. Of massive size, 19.5 cm. high.	Herzfeld 1988 (1941); Barnett 1950; Kyrieleis 1969. <sup>63</sup> (fig. 13)
Hamadan fragment	Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana in NW Iran)	Only upper portion (with scrolls and rosette) remains)	Herzfeld 1988 (1941) <sup>64</sup> (fig. 14)
Lion's paw fragment	Egypt?	Bronze lion's paw with 14-petalled rosette	Tadmor 1974 <sup>65</sup> (fig. 15)

Though the function, purpose, or origin of these bronze thrones are not well understood, it is not necessary to know what particular use (or uses) they served in their respective destinations in order to make certain observations about them:

a. The throne fragments are extremely similar to one another, while showing local adaptations of the form. This suggests that they were adapted

<sup>57</sup> Tadmor, "Fragments of an Achaemenid Throne."

<sup>58</sup> Paspalas, "On Persian-Type Furniture in Macedonia," 538; with picture of reconstructions of both the Athlit and Samaria thrones.

<sup>59</sup> Raban, "A Group of Objects from a Wreckage Site at Athlit."

<sup>60</sup> Jamzadeh, *The Achaemenid Throne*, 7.

<sup>61</sup> Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941), 262, fig. 364; Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Abb. 29, Taf. 8, Fig. 2.

<sup>62</sup> R.D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van," in *Iraq* 12 (1950): 1-43, esp. p. 30, pl IV:1.

<sup>63</sup> Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, fig. 364; Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale," Pl. III:1; Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Abb. 29, Taf. 8, Fig. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 262, Fig. 364.

<sup>65</sup> Tadmor, "Fragments of an Achaemenid Throne," Pl. 6a.

from one source (be that a geographical location, artistic school, or paradigmatic example from which they were copied).

b. The throne fragments, especially the throne leg sequence each exhibits, mirror the leg sequence of the thrones depicted throughout the reliefs of Persepolis. Since the reliefs at Persepolis represent the canonical Achaemenid images of kingship, their duplication in the thrones from the provinces can be assumed to represent a conscious duplication of what were recognized as characteristically Achaemenid thrones.<sup>66</sup>

c. All the known Achaemenid throne fragments from outside the Iranian heartland are made of hollow bronze.<sup>67</sup> This is surely significant – the importance of portability (and durability) may have been a motivating factor, or the local production of the thrones (as the Samaria throne mold fragment may suggest) may have necessitated this metal choice. Whatever the functional considerations, it is also worth noting what these throne fragments were *not* made from, that is, they were not gold, silver, or ivory thrones. They very probably were not the primary thrones of local kings,<sup>68</sup> nor should it be assumed that the Persepolitan throne images were meant to be seen as *equal* to these provincial thrones, whether or not the latter duplicated the former in style and form.

### More Achaemenid Thrones:

#### “Peripheral” Coinage as a Medium for Images of the Center

Throne fragments were not the only medium for images from the center of the Achaemenid Empire which ended up in Yehud, Samaria, and their neighbors. Coins, struck first in the western Levant ca. 450 B.C.E. in Sidon

<sup>66</sup> It was brought to my attention by Prof. Margaret Cool Root that in 2004 Mehr News reported the discovery of fragment of a lapis lazuli throne leg (which Iranian archaeologists have called part of the throne of Darius) in one of the ancient water canals/drainage ditches which ran under Persepolis’ *takht* area. Though I know of no publication of this object, its style would be an extremely valuable piece of comparanda for our purposes; the news article from Dec. 20, 2004 recorded only Alireza Askari’s observation that, “the figures carved on the stone are similar to the relief works in different parts of Persepolis.”

<sup>67</sup> For this point I am indebted to Ben Rubin, whose comments on the subject of a “hierarchy of thrones” helped me develop this point.

<sup>68</sup> Unlikely for Samaria or Yehud, which had lost their kings centuries before, but in Sidon and Tyre rulers continued to be called “kings” throughout the Persian period: “The reliability of Herodotus’ tradition about the submission of the Phoenician kings, of their own free will, to the Persians is supported by the fact that we never hear of any Persian administrators in the Phoenician city-states. These towns were permitted to keep their local kings, whose rights were similar to those of a satrap: they could pass on the crown to their sons, mint their own (silver) coins, etc.” H. Jakob Katzenstein, “Tyre in the Early Persian Period (539–486 B.C.E.),” *Biblical Archaeologist* 42/1 (1979): 23–34, esp. p. 26.

(and followed in the ensuing century in Tyre, Byblos, Jerusalem, Samaria, Gaza, Ashdod, and Ashkelon), also sometimes bore Achaemenid images of kings and kingship that resonated in the periphery.

The images used on coins during the Persian period vary extensively, and seem to have been chosen locally.<sup>69</sup> Often coins were inscribed with the name of the province or city where they were minted (for example, YHD = Yehud), and sometimes included a governor's name as well (for example, that of MZDY, the satrap of "Beyond the River" from 344–334 B.C.E., who often appears on coins of Tarsos and Sidon, and is known from three Samarian coins<sup>70</sup>). Coins from both Yehud and Samaria are relevant for my purposes, and it is especially interesting to note what isolated corpora they seem to have been in practice:

Remarkably, no fractional coins from Judea and almost none from the Samarian series have been discovered outside the border of ancient Samaria (a few have been found in modern Jordan). This implies that both coinages were used exclusively for local exchange within each province. More importantly, it suggests that the two provinces had minimal and possibly no economic interaction with one another during the fourth century BCE. Another curiosity is that almost no Persian imperial coins, the silver *siglos* or gold *daric* (P-14), have been found in either Judea or Samaria. This suggests that neither Judea nor Samaria required substantial bullion coins, both had minimal trade with Persia, and neither perhaps was engaged in large scale commercial activities with other polities as were the affluent Phoenician city-states, who minted substantial quantities of larger coins as well as fractionals.<sup>71</sup>

This makes the choice of coin imagery all the more interesting – these coinages do not seem to have been meant to compete with a significant corpus of Persian coins,<sup>72</sup> nor were they (apparently) used for long distance trade with other parts of the Achaemenid Empire. Though these conclusions are contingent upon our current numismatic evidence being

<sup>69</sup> Most scholars writing on Yehud and Samaria coin corpora assume this, almost by default, due to the wide variation of coin types during such a short period, as well as the "mixed referents" – Persian images on one hand, Athenian owls on the other, with Paleo-Hebrew script on either. In my mind this requires a more thorough comparative study, but is a useful working hypothesis in the meantime.

<sup>70</sup> Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE* (Jerusalem, 1991), 25.

<sup>71</sup> Stephen N. Gerson, "Fractional Coins of Judea and Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 64 (2001): 106–21, esp. p. 116; note also Meshorer and Qedar's comment (*The Coinage of Samaria*, 32 and elsewhere) that Yehud coins mainly imitate Athenian types (like the Athenian owl), while Samarian coins follow Sidonian and Cilician prototypes as well.

<sup>72</sup> Note that Persian imperial coins have been found in Babylonia, Anatolia, and on the coast of Cilicia, Greece, Cyprus and Egypt; thus Stern's opinion that this distribution pattern is the result of the accident of discovery; see Ephraim Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods (732–332 B.C.E.)* (New York, 2001), 227. The biblical evidence (1 Chr 29:7; Ezra 8:27) also indicates darics were in use in Yehud at this time.



representative of something close to reality, the corpus of coin imagery and its direct Achaemenid resonances provide support for a thesis that Achaemenid images of kingship were in wide circulation in Yehud and Samaria regardless.

All known coins from Samaria have been collected and published in Meshorer and Qedar's 1999 and 1991 works. They see the period of numismatic production in Samaria as 375–332 B.C.E., during which time the Samaritans used Paleo-Hebrew script to inscribe their coins with "Samaria" (ŠMRYN), and sometimes the name of a governor or high priest (who usually have a recognizably Hebrew name).<sup>73</sup> Coupled with these aspects of "local" identification, a number of Achaemenid themes recognizable from the reliefs at Persepolis dot the coin corpus. The images of the figure on an Achaemenid-style throne, the "royal hero" (a crowned figure fighting an animal, sphinx, or winged beast), and also the lion attacking a bull (or, in a local variant frequent on Samaritan coins, the lion attacking a stag).<sup>74</sup>

As Dusinberre has discussed in her work on the symbol of the Persian archer and the numismatic tiarate heads, images known from Persepolis show up in coinage produced throughout the west, in each location retaining the most prominent symbols despite some variants in design. She notes, "this constancy of image had several ramifications, including not only a long-lived circulation [...] but also a very high degree of recognition of image among ancient viewers."<sup>75</sup> The images were being adapted to local contexts, probably in a complex manner that involved both encouragement from above (in order that Achaemenid images of kingship might dominate) as well as independent impetus from "below" (from individuals outside of the Achaemenid heartland wishing to incorporate their own identities in some way into the framework of empire).

A thorough study of the numismatic evidence from Samaria and Yehud (perhaps in conjunction with Sidonian/Cilician and Athenian coins, respectively)<sup>76</sup> in light of Achaemenid iconography would be of great use in understanding how Achaemenid images of kingship were manipulated and

<sup>73</sup> Meshorer and Qedar, *The Coinage of Samaria*, 13.

<sup>74</sup> Though I have read no arguments as to why the variant of lion-attacking-stag would have been more prevalent in Samaria than lion-attacking-bull, it may be worth considering the other meanings the symbol of the conquered bull may have had to those in Samaria. Notably, of course, the idea that YHWH may have once been worshipped in the form of a bull or bull-calf (golden or otherwise) in this area may explain its absence here.

<sup>75</sup> Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre, "King or God? Imperial Iconography and the 'Tiarate Head' Coins of Achaemenid Anatolia," in *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey* (AASOR 57, Boston, 2000), 157–71, esp. p. 164.

<sup>76</sup> As Meshorer and Qedar assume throughout their work *The Coinage of Samaria* that the die cutters of Samaria and Yehud are simply imitating these prototypes; "misunderstanding" the motifs where variants occur.

understood in the Levant. For my purposes, this evidence serves to strengthen the case that these symbols and their accompanying semantic field of meaning were well known in Yehud during the 4th century B.C.E. Though the purpose or usage of the bronze throne fragments cannot be recovered without a find in its primary archaeological context, it is certain that these thrones were not the only images of the Achaemenid throne in circulation – the known corpus of Yehud coins and the nearly 600 published Samarian coins show us that the Achaemenid throne, as well as other images known from Persepolis at the center of the Persian empire, were being locally produced and exchanged at this time.

### Other Resonances: Achaemenid Kingship in the Periphery

These kinds of Achaemenid images of kingship can also be located in the seals and seal impressions found in Samaria and Yehud. Seals, like coins, represent a corpus that involves both images from the heartland of the Persian Empire, as well as from local or regional contexts. Because they involve personal choice in image selection, they are especially interesting in understanding how images of Achaemenid kingship were conceived in peripheral areas of the empire. In analyzing the corpus of seals from the Persepolis fortification tablets, Mark Garrison and Margaret Cool Root attempted to trace variations and symbolic meaning of the “Heroic Encounter” (images of a kingly figure fighting an animal, or otherwise controlling or combating animals in varying ways). They were able to survey other seal corpora from around the empire, and counted nine seals out of some 61 from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh bullae in the territory of Samaria which also bore the distinctly Achaemenid theme.<sup>77</sup> These seal impressions are notable not only because of the break they make with previous glyptic art in the region,<sup>78</sup> but also because, as Garrison and Root also noted, of the way subtle changes or omissions in the original Persepolitan prototype were made:

[...] even for those seals that are Achaemenid in style and iconography the avoidance of specific religious icons such as the winged symbol suggests a particularistic social environment in which certain Achaemenid images integral to the heartland repertoire were muted. If indeed anything can be made of this phenomenon, it suggest that in regions embraced by the Achaemenid Empire individuals had some systematic capac-

<sup>77</sup> That is, 15–16.4% of the corpus; Mark Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (2 Vol.; OIP 117; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2001), 55.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God In Ancient Israel* (trans. Thomas Trapp; Minneapolis, 1998), who discuss the lack of royal portraits in Babylonian art, and thus the lack of such imagery in Pre-Achaemenid Palestine as well.

ity to maintain their own identities in glyptic symbolism even as certain groups were incorporating themselves into the framework of the realm in various ways.<sup>79</sup>

In fact, as Garrison and Root go on to point out, it may have been the ambiguity of the image itself which allowed for its popularity (and adaptability) – but this does not preclude the symbol's consciously Achaemenid referent. Even in local contexts, these images were valued for their elite connotations and their ties to the reigning power: Achaemenid kingship was, during the 6th–4th centuries, the overarching and truly powerful kingship. Adaptation of these images for local usage does not represent their rejection as Achaemenid images, but should instead be considered a message about their ultimate value. To use a seal which represented one's presence or signature with the symbol of the "Persian Man"<sup>80</sup> in combat with a fierce animal was to identify with such an image as potent and meaningful – to signify one's participation in the ideology of an Achaemenid empire and its "hero."

Recalling the image of King Solomon in 2 Chr 6:13, what might we make of this bronze object now that we are armed with an arsenal of Achaemenid images? What picture is the Chronicler attempting to paint for his audience? The object is large, and made of bronze, and it elevates Solomon off the ground. It seems to have been a temporary installment, and is not mentioned elsewhere in the text, or in any other descriptions of the Temple buildings. While kneeling on the platform, Solomon is placed in a mediating position, raised between the people of Israel (whom he faces) and YHWH (to whom he addresses his dedicatory speech). Solomon is being supported by his people, not physically as dais bearers, but in spirit through their presence and attention. His control over them comes not from his physical power over them, but from the nature of his chosenness by YHWH; thus they stand before him willingly.

Compare, then, this scene in the Temple courtyard to that on the Tomb of Darius (**fig. 16**). Arms outstretched to their patron deity, both kings stand held on high – in the latter manifestation of the theme, the king stands on a raised Achaemenid dais; in the former, biblical manifestation, he kneels on a bronze platform.<sup>81</sup> The scenes both represent a critical moment for ruler and ruled. One seems metaphorical, the other paradigmatic. Each is "carefully designed to convey the aura of a sacral covenant between king and

<sup>79</sup> Garrison and Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification*, 55.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, e.g., 57.

<sup>81</sup> The term *kīyyōr* is a rare one, and thus it is not entirely clear what this object could be. Translations include platform, scaffold, or structure. Also worth noting is Williamson's observation that "[t]he same word is used of the bronze basins in 2 Chr 4:6 and presumably implies that the platform was like an upturned hollow vessel," (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 28), though it is not clear why a dome-shaped platform would be either functional or meaningful.

subjects.”<sup>82</sup> I argue that the Chronicler chose this imagery purposefully, adding a detail that does not affect the central thread of his history so much as its setting, and may well have conjured for his audience an associative web connoting royal power, wealth, and piety.

### Conclusions: Retelling a Prophetic Past

The Chronicler’s added verse does not explicitly discuss lion paw bases, stylized cylinder cross pieces, or actual dais bearers. Still, I would argue that this verse is meant to resonate with the powerful images of Achaemenid kingship that had become widespread and well-known in Judah by the time of the Chronicler’s authorship. Solomon, as ideal king – the apex of Judaeen power and the favorite of YHWH – has been written in glowing terms in this history. Apparently, it was not enough that he be shown standing before the Temple’s altar, surrounded by all the assembly of Israel, in order to address YHWH and show him to his new home. The bronze structure, along with its specific physical dimensions, somehow strengthened this image for the Chronicler, and presumably, for his audience.

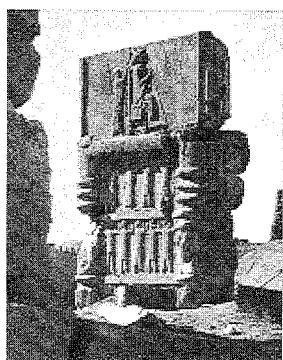
If this superficial foray into Achaemenid iconography as it was adopted and adapted in the Levantine provinces has currency, then the Chronicler’s writings are much more than a retelling of history: he reshapes the image of Israel’s ideal king; distances the symbolic and metaphorical “throne of YHWH” from any physical throne; and infuses the apical scene of Solomon’s Temple dedication with imagery that would resonate with a contemporary audience. Schniedewind, writing on the Chronicler’s addition of speeches to the prophetic narratives, argued as follows:

I believe that the Chronicler saw himself in a role similar to that of his inspired messengers [...]. The various aspects of the Chronicles composition – speeches, narrative style and theology – all serve a homiletic function. As a corpus, the speeches in Chronicles cannot be understood simply by the context of their First Temple period referents; they are primarily speeches to the post-exilic community.<sup>83</sup>

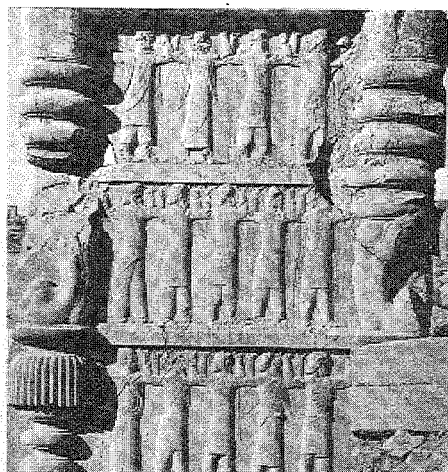
I add only that details of the physical environment can speak as loudly as added dialogue – these small additions illustrate the influence of both Israelite prophecy and Achaemenid iconography in shaping the Chronicler’s project.

<sup>82</sup> Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, 131.

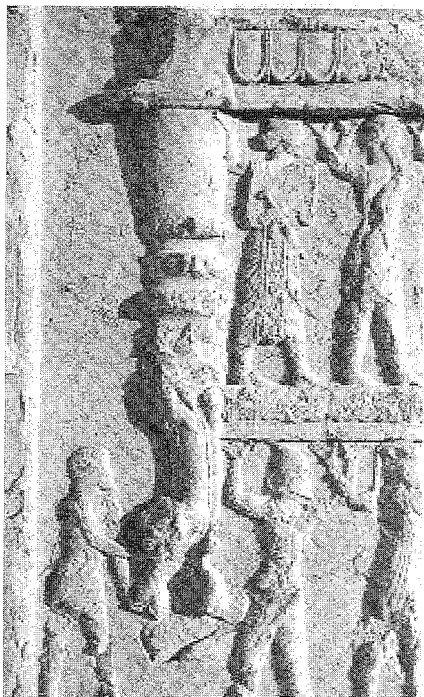
<sup>83</sup> Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition*, 250.



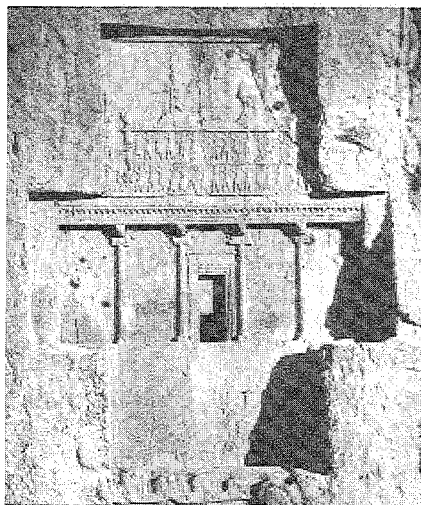
*Fig. 1:* Oriental Institute P-321, Throne Hall, Throne Relief on W. Jamb of E. Doorway in S. Wall, Adapted from [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_th/index.php/2F6\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_th/index.php/2F6_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)



*Fig. 2:* Oriental Institute P-323 a & b, Throne Hall, Throne Bearers on W. Jamb of E. Doorway in S. Wall. Adapted from [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_th/index.php/2F7\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_th/index.php/2F7_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)



*Fig. 3:* Oriental Institute P 58562, Naqsh-I-Rustam, Tomb of Darius. Detail of Left Portion of Throne-Bearer Register. Adapted from [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_rtom/index.php/7D7\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_rtom/index.php/7D7_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)



*Fig. 4:* Oriental Institute P 58503, Naqsh-I-Rustam, Tomb of Darius I. Adapted from [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_rtom/index.php/7C12\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_rtom/index.php/7C12_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)

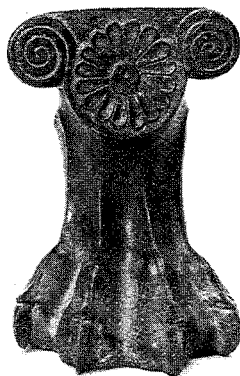
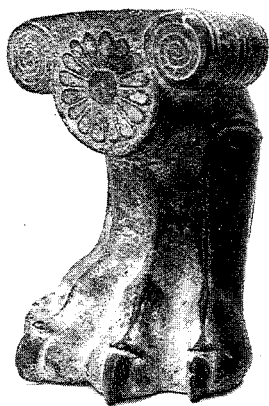


Fig. 5: Bronze leg of a throne, Samaria, Persian period, IMJ 70.92.612 and IMJ 69.8.428. From Tadmor 1974, Plate 3a and Plate 4a. Photos © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Used by permission.

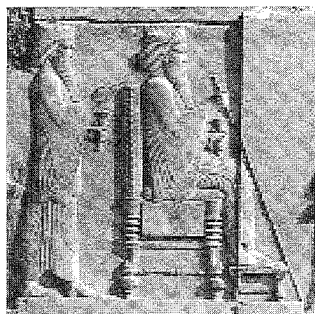


Fig. 6: Oriental Institute P 57121, Treasury. S. Portico of Courtyard 17. Adapted from [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_tre/index.php/3B10\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_tre/index.php/3B10_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)

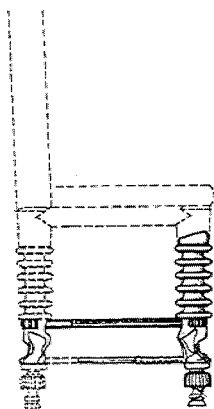
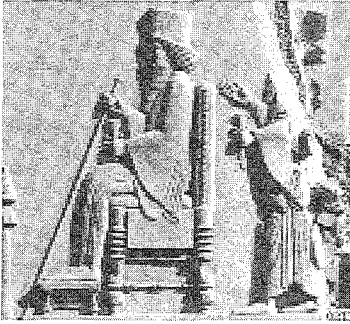


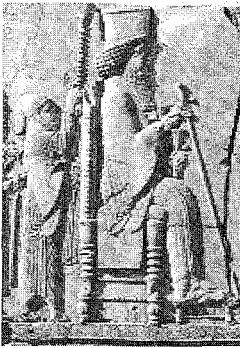
Fig. 7: Athlit Throne Fragments. From Stavros Paspalas, "On Persian-Type Furniture in Macedonia: The Recognition and Transmission of Forms," *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000): 531–60, esp. p. 538 (Drawing by Hooten after Raban 1992, fig. 10). Used by permission.



*Fig. 8: Oriental Institute P 56563, Treasury.  
Relief in E. Portico of a Courtyard.*

Adapted from

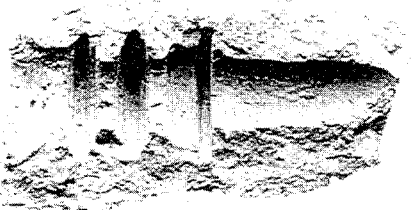
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*Fig. 9: Oriental Institute P-315a, Throne Hall.  
East Doorway in N. Wall, W. Jamb.*

Adapted from

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*Fig. 10: Samaria Throne Mold Fragment*

(Figure 64m Reg. No. 2934, mold, Stone C 1a). Figure reprinted by permission of the publishers from *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, by George Andrew Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, Cambridge, Mass.

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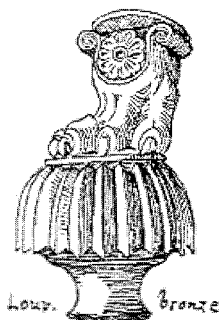


Fig. 11: Louvre Bronze, Unknown Provenance.  
Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941), p. 262, Figure 364



Fig. 12: Egypt Throne Fragment.  
R.D. Barnett, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van," in *Iraq* 12 (1950): 1-43, Plate IV: 1. Used by permission.



Fig. 13: Throne Fragment from Toprakkale (Lake Van), British Museum 91164.  
R.D. Barnett "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van," in *Iraq* 12 (1950): 1-43, Plate III: 1. Used by permission.

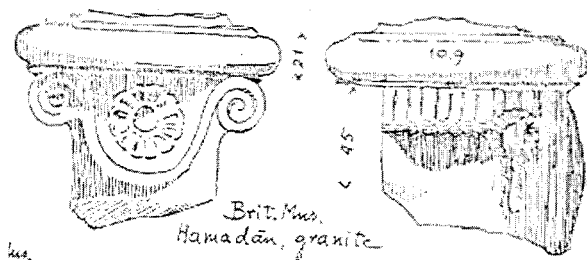


Fig. 14: Hamadan Fragment, British Museum.

Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941), p. 262, Figure 364

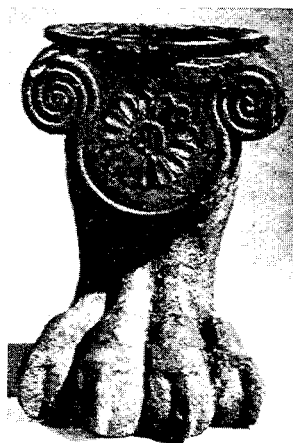


Fig. 15: Throne Fragment in the British Museum (possibly from Egypt).

From Miriam Tadmor, "Fragments of an Achaemenid Throne from Samaria," *IEJ* 24 (1974): 37–43. Plate 6a. Used by permission.

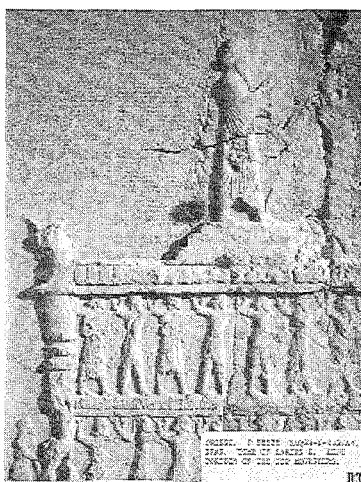


Fig. 16: Oriental Institute P 58528, Naqsh-I-Rustam.

Tomb of Darius: Left Portion of Top Register

Adapted from

[http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa\\_iran\\_paai\\_per\\_rtom/index.php/7D3\\_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paai_per_rtom/index.php/7D3_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original)

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